

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 01507 01 OF 03 202049Z

63

ACTION ACDA-19

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 1507

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: MBFR AD HOC GROUP
MEETING, FEBRUARY 18, 1974

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

BEGIN SUMMARY. IN MEETING 18 FEBRUARY UNDER CHAIR-
MANSHIP OF ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) THE AD HOC GROUP
ADDRESSED THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: REPORT OF UK-
ROMANIAN MEETING (SEPTTEL)V INTERIM REPORT BY
CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) OF THE ORAL PRESENTATION
DELIVERED BY NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) TO THE NATO
COUNCIL ON 15 FEBRUARY; A SHORT COMMENT BY KASTL,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS,
WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE AD HOC GROUP MEETING; THE REPORT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 01507 01 OF 03 202049Z

ON THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ALLIED AND EASTERN

REPS ON 13 FEBRUARY (VIENNA 1344) AS WELL AS TALKING POINTS TO BE USED AT THE NEXT INFORMAL DISCUSSION SCHEDULED FOR 20 FEBRUARY; THE CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY REPORT FOR THE PERIOD 11-17 FEBRUARY AND THE PROGRAM FOR THE 21 FEBRUARY VISIT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SUB COMMITTEE OF MBFR OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY.

END SUMMARY.

BILATERAL

1. UK REP (ROSE) REPORTED ON THE MEETING WHICH HE HAD WITH THE ROMANIAN REP (ANINOIU) AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST ON 15 FEBRUARY (SEPTTEL). UK REP SAID THAT THE ROMANIAN REP REITERATED POINTS HE HAD ALREADY MADE TO ALL OF THE OTHER WESTERN REPS REGARDING STRONG ROMANIAN OPPOSITION TO THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ALLIED AND EASTERN REPS. ROSE FELT THAT IT WAS APPARENT THAT WARSAW PACT MEMBERS WHOSE REPS WERE NOT PRESENT AT THE 13 FEBRUARY MEETING HAD NEITHER BEEN TOLD NOR DEBRIEFED ABOUT IT. NOR HAD THEY BEEN ADVISED IN ADVANCE THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE. THIS WAS A DIFFERENT PRACTICE FROM THAT FOLLOWING THE FIRST MEETING WHEN ALL WARSAW PACT MEMBERS HAD BEEN GIVEN A DEBRIEFING.

2. ROMANIAN REP WAS INFORMED THAT A THIRD MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR 20 FEBRUARY. ROMANIAN REP STRESSED THAT IN HIS OPINION SUCH MEETINGS WERE DIRECTED AGAINST ROMANIA AND THAT IF THEY CONTINUED ROMANIA WOULD HAVE TO MAKE ITS OPPOSITION KNOWN IN THE PLENARY MEETINGS.

3. TURKISH REP (TUREL) INTERJECTED THAT IN A MEETING HE HAD HAD WITH THE ROMANIAN REP, THE SAME POINTS HAD BEEN RAISED. THE CHAIRMAN, ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI), STATED THAT IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO ROMANIAN REP THAT IT WAS NOT THE INTENT OF THE WESTERN ALLIES TO KEEP ROMANIA OUT OF THE MEETING,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 01507 01 OF 03 202049Z

SINCE ALL FLANK COUNTRIES HAD THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IF MATTERS OF INTEREST TO THEM WERE UNDER DISCUSSION. UK REP MENTIONED THAT HE HAD MADE THE SAME POINT TO THE ROMANIAN REP IN THE COURSE OF THE MEETING AND THAT HE HAD EVERN OFFERED TO MEET WITH THE ROMANIAN REP FROM TIME TO TIME TO KEEP HIM ABREAST OF THE SITUATION.

4. U.S. ACTING REP RECOMMENDED THAT A PRACTICE BE MADE OF HAVING A WESTERN REP WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT INFORM THE ROMANIANS AFTER EVERY OTHER SESSION. GROUP AGREED.

ORAL REPORT TO NAC

5. CHAIRMAN ASKED CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) TO GIVE AN INTERIM REPORT ON THE ORAL PRESENTATION MADE BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES TO THE NAC ON 15 FEBRUARY 1974. GRANDE STATED THAT IT WAS AMBASSADOR QUARLES' AND HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE BRIEFING AND THEIR RECEPTION BY THE COUNCIL WENT WELL. THE NAC WAS TOLD ABOUT THE INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WARSAW PACT. THE IMPRESSION WAS CONVEYED THAT OF ALL THE ALTERNATIVES AVAILABLE, THIS WAS THE LEAST HARMFUL, AND THAT ALL DISCUSSIONS WERE CONDUCTED STRICTLY IN LINE WITH AD HOC GROUP APPROVED TALKING POINTS. ONE MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL HAD ASKED WHETHER THE ALLIES WERE NOT LOSING GROUND. AD HOC GROUP REPS DENIED THIS, POINT OUT THAT ALLIES HAD BEEN ABLE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE SOVIET POSITION AND BECAUSE PATIENCE AND REPETITION WERE NEEDED IN ALL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. GRANDE STATED THAT MEMBERS OF NAC COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON THE ABILITY OF THE AD HOC GROUP TO HOLD THE LINE AND ON THE PATIENCE SHOWN BY THE AD HOC GROUP MEMBERS. CANADIAN REP CONCLUDED THAT AMBASSADOR QUARLES AND HE WERE SATISFIED THAT THE COUNCIL HAD CONFIDENCE IN THE WORK OF THE AD HOC GROUP AND THAT THERE WAS NO CONCERN ON THE PART OF COUNCIL MEMBERS THAT THE AD HOC GROUP WAS EXCEEDING ITS MANDATE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 01507 01 OF 03 202049Z

COMMENTS BY ASSISTANT SYG KASTL

6. CHAIRMAN ASKED ASSISTANT SYG KASTL TO ADDRESS AD HOC GROUP AND TO CONVEY HIS IMPRESSIONS. KASTL REPORTED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL WAS HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AD HOC GROUP TACTICAL POSITION AND THE RELATIONSHIP WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN AD HOC GROUP AND BRUSSELS. KASTL STRESSED HIS INTEREST IN HAVING THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP AND TO LISTEN TO ITS ADVICE ON HOW THE WORK COULD BE CONDUCTED IN THE SPC. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE STABILIZING MEASURES ARE ON THE TABLE AND WORK CAN PROCEED BY THE AD HOC GROUP ALONG THE GUIDANCE PROVIDED BY THE NAC. AS FAR AS VERIFICATION AND INSPECTION MEASURES ARE

CONCERNED, THE SITUATION IS BOGGED DOWN AND EARLY GUIDANCE CANNOT BE EXPECTED. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF ONE DELEGATION, THE QUESTION OF LINKAGE WAS ALSO BEING DISCUSSED BUT THAT ON THIS ISSUE TOO, NO RAPID PROGRESS CAN BE EXPECTED FROM THE NAC. KASTL COMMENTED THAT THE WORK OF THE AD HOC GROUP IN VIENNA WAS A REMARKABLE EXAMPLE OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, AND THAT EVEN THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN NO RAPID PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT WAS STILL A GREAT EFFORT.

SECRET

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 01507 02 OF 03 202050Z

63

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 1507

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. CHAIRMAN THANKED KASTL FOR NAC'S TIMELY AND USEFUL GUIDANCE ON STABILIZING MEASURES. ON THE BASIS OF THE SUGGESTION MADE BY UK REP, AD HOC GROUP AGREED THAT NATO GUIDANCE ON STABILIZING MEASUREES WOULD BE USED

IN THE PREPARATION OF TWO SEPARATE PLENARY STATEMENTS.

8. CANADIAN REP ADDED THAT THE NEXT AD HOC GROUP BRIEFING TO THE NAC WAS SCHEDULED FOR 15 MARCH AND THE FINAL BRIEFING PRIOR TO THE EASTER BREAK WAS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR 5 APRIL.

REPORT ON INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

9. THE CHAIRMAN ASKED IF THERE WERE COMMENTS ON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 01507 02 OF 03 202050Z

DEVELOPMENTS AT THE FEBRUARY 13 INFORMAL DINNER. HE BELIEVED THE MEETING HAD CLARIFIED ISSUES CONFRONTING THE AHG AND PROVIDED AN INDICATION OF HOW FUTURE MEETINGS MIGHT DEVELOP. HE SUMMARIZED HIS IDEAS AS FOLLOWS. THE EAST HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE LIMITED PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT, AND THEREFORE IT MIGHT NOT BE USEFUL FOR THE AHG REPS TO INSIST ON IT. THERE WAS A POSSIBLE RUSSIAN OPENING ON THE COMMON GROUND QUESTION, BUT THERE WERE MANY CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS; SEVERAL TIMES SOV REP (KHLESTOV) HAD SAID THIS COMMON GROUND MIGHT BE DESIRABLE, BUT THEN HE HAD BACKED OFF AND SAID THAT THE MEETINGS SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THE ENTIRE PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES. KHLESTOV'S LAST STATEMENT--THAT AFTER A GENERAL DISCUSSION IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO FIND COMMON ELEMENTS -- WAS NOT ENTIRELY NEGATIVE, AND AHG REPS MAY BE ABLE TO BUILD UPON IT. THEREFORE THE GROUP SHOULD IN HIS VIEW CONCENTRATE ON COMMON GROUND AND SHOULD CONSIDER MEETING EASTERN CONDITIONS; TO A LIMITED DEGREE THIS HAD ALREADY BEEN DONE IN PART AT THE LAST MEETING BECAUSE THE AHG REP (US REP) HAD SAID HE WOULD RAISE WITH HIS ALLIES THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPANDING THE TOPIC TO BE DISCUSSED.

10. CHAIRMAN SAID THERE WERE THREE MAJOR EASTERN CONDITIONS: BOTH PROGRAMS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN FULL; THE EAST AND WEST SHOULD DETERMINE COMMON AND NON-COMMON POINTS TOGETHER, AND OTHER FORCES AND ALL OF THEIR COMPONENTS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. ITALIAN REP GENERALLY AGREED WITH THE FIRST POINT, BUT FOUND THE LAST ONE UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES WERE COMMON GROUND. THEREFORE, THE AHG SHOULD ACCEPT THE GLOBAL APPROACH AND GO THROUGH BOTH APPROACHES AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY COMMON AND UNCOMMON GROUND. HE NOW FELT THAT THE COMMON GROUND WAS NOT AS SMALL AS WAS FIRST BELIEVED. HE FELT THAT THE NEXT ALLIED APPROACH SHOULD BE IN FOUR STEPS: TO DETERMINE

IN WHICH AREAS MATERIAL AGREEMENT COULD BE EXPECTED,
TO ALLOW COMMON GROUND TO EMERGE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH
THE EAST, TO DEFINE ISSUES THAT WOULD INITIALLY BE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 01507 02 OF 03 202050Z

PUT ASIDE, AND FINALLY, TO DISCUSS THE COMMON
GROUND. FRG REP SAID THAT IT WAS PERHAPS PREMATURE
TO LAUNCH SO BROAD A DISCUSSION AT THE NEXT INFORMAL
MEETING. HE AGREED THAT THE LIMITED PROCEDURAL
AGREEMENT DID NOT APPEAR TO BE FEASIBLE -- THE SOVIETS
WOULD NOT TAKE IT NOW. THE EASTERN REPS HAVE NOT
YET ACCEPTED COMMON GROUND; THEY ARGUE THAT DISCUSSION
SHOULD COVER THE WHOLE SUBJECT MATTER IN ORDER TO
DETERMINE WHAT COMMON GROUND EXISTS. THE ALLIES SHOULD
ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY SUGGESTIONS WHERE MORE THAN
COMMON GROUND EXISTED, PERHAPS EVEN A COMMON VIEW.
HE WAS NOT SURE IT WAS BEST TO DO AS THE OTHER SIDE
SUGGESTED AND DISCUSS THE WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES.
FRG REP FELT THAT BROAD DISCUSSION MIGHT INCLUDE
ISSUE OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, WHICH SHOULD
BE AVOIDED.

11. THE CHAIRMAN REPLIED THAT HE SAW THE FRG REP'S
POINT. PERHAPS IT WAS NOT URGENT TO BEGIN DISCUSSION
SO SOON, BUT HE WAS AFRAID THAT THE EAST WOULD TRY
TO MANEUVER THE ALLIES AWAY FROM COMMON GROUND (WHICH
WOULD NOT BE TO THE WESTERN ADVANTAGE); AHG REPS
SHOULD PUT THE UNDESIRABLE EASTERN ELEMENTS ASIDE
AS NOT BEING COMMON GROUND. WHY DO THE SOVIETS INSIST
ON THREE POINTS -- US/SOVIET FORCES, NATIONAL
FORCES AND OTHER FOREIGN FORCES? WHY NOT SIMPLY
US/SOVIET FORCES AND OTHER FORCES INSTEAD?

12. UK REP SAID THAT IT WAS USEFUL TO CONSIDER BOTH
THE EASTERN AND WESTERN PROPOSALS FROM A BROAD POINT
OF VIEW, BUT ALSO FELT IT WAS PREMATURE TO DO SO NOW.
IF THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS ARE OF A WIDE RANGE OF
TOPICS, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO PUT THE EASTERN
ELEMENTS ASIDE WITHOUT FIRST DISCUSSING THEM (UNLESS
THE ALLIED RESPONSE IS A FORMAL REPETITION OF PREVIOUS
PLENARY STATEMENTS); THAT APPROACH WOULD DRAW THE
ALLIES ON TO DANGEROUS GROUND, SUCH AS NATIONAL
SUB-Ceilings AND LINKAGE. DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE
WOULD BE HARD TO AVOID, AND ALLIES WOULD END UP
ADDRESSING ELEMENTS TO WHICH THEY WERE OPPOSED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 01507 02 OF 03 202050Z

13. THE IDENTIFICATION OF COMMON ELEMENTS WAS DIFFICULT. THE ALLIES ARGUE THAT US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES IS A COMMON ELEMENT, BUT KHLESTOV SAYS IT IS NOT COMMON WHEN TAKEN IN ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THEREFORE UK REP PROPOSED THAT THE ALLIES GO OVER ROUGHLY SAME GROUND AS BEFORE IN THE NEXT MEETING AT LEAST. THERE WAS A LITTLE ROOM LEFT FOR MANEUVER WITHIN THESE POINTS, AND BEFORE REVISING THEIR APPROACH, AHG REPS MIGHT WISH TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THEIR AUTHORITIES. UK REP WAS STILL NOT OPTIMISTIC OF REACHING A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, BUT THERE WAS ENOUGH MATERIAL IN THE TACTICS PAPER TO CONDUCT ANOTHER MEETING.

14. CHAIRMAN SAID THAT HE SAW REP'S POINT. CANADIAN REP ADDED THAT IT WAS NOT YET TIME TO DROP ALLIED PROCEDURAL APPROACH. UK REP NOTED THAT HE ASSUMED THAT AT THE NEXT MEETING THE ALLIED REPS WOULD SEEK AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES, PHASING AND OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THIS WOULD COVER KHLESTOV'S POINTS ABOUT OTHER NATIONAL AND FOREIGN FORCES. CANADIAN REP AGREED AND SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO PREVENT THE DISCUSSIONS FROM GOING TOO DEEPLY INTO SUBSTANCE WHILE SEEKING A PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT.

15. US ACTING REP AGREED WITH ITALIAN REP THAT IT WOULD EVENTUALLY BE NECESSARY TO EXAMINE BOTH SIDES' COMPLETE PROPOSALS FOR COMMON ELEMENTS. HOWEVER, HE ALSO AGREED WITH OTHERS WHO HAD ARGUED FOR PUSHING WESTERN IDEAS ONE MORE TIME. US ACTING REP HOPED TO USE THE THREE ELEMENT FORMULA JUST MENTIONED BY UK REP. ALLIES SHOULD NOT GIVE UP THEIR EMPHASIS ON US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES. THE US DEL THEN DISTRIBUTED BRIEF PAPER CONTAINING TALKING POINTS ON ABOVE THEMES FOR THE NEXT

SECRET

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 01507 03 OF 03 202051Z

63
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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 1507

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

INFORMAL MEETING.

16. UK REP SAID THAT THIS WAS A USEFUL DOCUMENT. IN GENERAL, IT CONFIRMED TO HIS IDEAS. FRG REP SAID THAT PAPER COINCIDED WITH HIS VIEWS, ESPECIALLY THE THREE COMMON ELEMENTS THAT WOULD BE ADVANCED BY THE WEST (US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES, INCLUSION OF GROUND FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, PHASING). UK REP SUGGESTED THAT MORE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE ARGUMENTS THAT IF THE RANGE OF DISCUSSION WAS BROAD, THE INFORMAL MEETINGS COULD BE A WASTE OF TIME LIKE THE PLENARIES; EXTRA EMPHASIS COULD BE GIVEN TO THIS IDEA BY MENTIONING IT EARLIER IN THE PAPER. UK REP ALSO WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THE ALLIED DISAGREEMENT

SECRET

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 01507 03 OF 03 202051Z

ON INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR ISSUES.

17. CHAIRMAN SAID THE APPROACH COULD BE TO ALLOW THE EAST TO RAISE ANY POINT THEY WISHED, BUT FOR THE WEST TO ALWAYS BE ABLE TO REFUSE. CHAIRMAN CONCLUDED THAT THE TALKING POINTS WERE APPROVED. HE SUGGESTED THAT SINCE SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE AHG WERE ABSENT, THE GROUP SHOULD WAIT UNTIL THE FEBRUARY 19 MEETING TO DECIDE WHO WOULD ATTEND THE NEXT INFORMAL MEETING.

CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY REPORT

18. THE AHG NEXT DISCUSSED THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR THE PREVIOUS WEEK (REVISED VERSION SEPTEL). US ACTING REP PROPOSED THAT DETAILED REPORT OF AHG PROCEDURAL AGREEMENTS ON THE SELECTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE INFORMAL MEETINGS BE DROPPED FROM REPORT SINCE IT REPRESENTED INTERNAL DECISION OF AHG ON ITS OWN OPERATING PROCEDURES RATHER THAN SUBJECT WHICH GROUP WANTED TO SUGGEST BE CONSIDERED BY NAC. GROUP AGREED WITH THIS RECOMMENDED DELETION AND REPORT WAS APPROVED.

SUB COMMITTEE OF MBFR OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

19. FRG REP THEN REPORTED ON THE PREPARATIONS THAT HAD BEEN MADE FOR THE VISIT OF THE NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS. THE US, UK, NETHERLANDS AND THE FRG HAD BEEN REQUESTED TO MAKE PRESENTATIONS TO MEMBERS OF THE GROUP. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT US SENATOR BENTSEN WOULD ATTEND THE MEETINGS. BELGIAN DEL OFF REPORTED THAT HE HAD LEARNED THAT AT THE FEBRUARY 19 PLENARY MEETING, HUNGARY WOULD MAKE THE EASTERN PRESENTATION. THE NEXT SESSION OF THE AD HOC GROUP WAS SET FOR FEBRUARY 19. END TEXT.HUMES

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